

Leicester, Mass.  
Jan. 25. 1867.

Dear friend Webb,

Yours of Decr. 22. came in due course and received the welcome which the sight of your handwriting always awakens. It is true we write much seldomly than formerly; and there are doubtless sufficient reasons <sup>for it</sup> on both sides, without suspecting any "want of good will on either side," - a thing I cannot bear to have suggested, even to be disclaimed or scouted. If I could forget, or cease to remember with lasting gratitude and lifelong blessing, such active sympathy, such hearty & uniform support, such invaluable friendship and cooperation as we, the American Abolitionists, proscribed, denounced, reviled by the would-be leaders of opinion, by the acknowledged possessors of power, - received at the hands of yourself & others, in Dublin, Waterford, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, London, & many other places in the "United Kingdom," during the long period of our intense moral conflict with this Nation, - I should be wholly unworthy to have ever been a sharer in that steadfast friendship & cooperation, to have ever been an abolitionist, or to be now a friend and helper of the redeemed slave, the growing & rising freed-man. Some things are to be taken for granted; the very questioning of them, or the apparent need of hinting that no change has come, seems to start the fear that some change has come. I know of none such. Could I go again to England, the first places my heart would seek out, for its most home-like resting place, would be at Dublin, at Clifton, and at Edinburgh, - including also Chesterfield, (Francis Bishop), and Birmingham where I have an Uncle, Saml. A. Goddard, who, in addition to claims of kindred, & great personal integrity & manliness, has added such efficient service to our Country's Cause during the war, as gives him a fourfold right to my esteem & affection.

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My best regards to Alfred, and to your own dear

We differed much - you and I - during the war,  
as we both know. I have frequently had occasion  
to speak of what seemed to me the singular ~~unhappy~~  
~~deficiency~~ want of power to penetrate the obscure and  
contradictory surroundings of our National position during  
the war, which affected so generally the British Abolitionists.  
It was not so with all. George Thompson saw through it,  
from the very first moment - saw where the absolute wrong  
was, where the absolute right was, & the necessity which  
lay on both parties to gravitate, the one to more entire and  
fatal committal to the wrong, the other to a more unanimous,  
& unequivocal adoption of the right; proclaimed & urged  
it publicly; & did much to establish the minds of the  
middle & working classes against the Slaveholder's Rebellion.  
I think Mary Estlin never doubted, or lost her approving  
sympathy for Mr. Garrison, Mr. Phillips, & the rest of us (when  
for the first 2 or 3 yrs. of the war, we saw eye & eye, & acted  
with absolute unity, until the passion for political change, &  
impatience of the order of Providence, led Mr. P. & his adherents  
off into Cleveland Conventions, affiliations with old pro-slavery  
political hacks, and schemes for promoting personal ambitions,  
which would have blighted the <sup>character</sup> ~~future~~ of the Anti-Slavery Reform,  
had Garrison & the Abolts. generally gone with <sup>them</sup> ~~it~~). Nor did  
Eliza Wigham, I think, ever withdraw her confidence in Mr.  
Garrison's good judgment, although I think it was somewhat  
shaken at one time, and she had to trust to faith rather than sight.  
But with those exceptions, & generally, of course, how few held well to ~~the~~ <sup>their</sup> Anti-Slavery consistency!  
~ Well! We differed <sup>in opinions</sup> ~~there~~. But I, for one, never was alienated  
or sundered from any of you. I knew that you had much  
ground for your doubts & fears, - much ground, i.e., which  
appeared to warrant you in withholding sympathy from  
the Northern effort, & to take up a sort of neutral position;  
& led you to feel that you could not identify yourselves  
with us, of the North. I lamented it, as you know, -  
I wondered at it; I still wonder at it; - because, as  
I saw, & you saw, there sprang up at once those who did

see it, did take their position at once, & never wavered. Such were Gasparin & others on the Continent; such were G. Thompson, Foster, Thos. Hughes, Baptist Noel, Newman, Newman Hall, Bright, Mill, and many more; and if these were so clear, I asked myself, why should not the Abolitionists of Gr. Britain be equally so? For all that, I knew that those Abolitionists were not to be judged of my judgment. I knew they had stood a quarter of a century & more on the rock of justice & right; that they had a moral vision which had commanded respect, and which deserved respect still, & which I should have my respect, even when I was convinced it was not infallible. - Now, ~~these~~ briefly, are the <sup>circumstances</sup> ~~grounds~~ of the difference of opinion. Have you ever seen any evidence that my regard, & personal consideration, & remembrance of the past, have been touched by that difference? I think not. And I hope you have not supposed you saw any such evidence. Or, if you have, that it was as short-lived as the moment which brought it. -

= But I have preached over that, until I wonder at myself for taking up so much time & paper about it, & am tempted to put it all in the fire, as quite worthless. But you will please overlook it, & put it in fire yourself, letting it go no further - & construe it, as meant, as a simple assurance that no differences of opinion, & especially when you had so much reason for yours, have ever come in to touch our friendship, - at least not on my part, nor, as I believe, on yours.

One great reason for my writing no more during the year past is found in the work wh. has occupied me, - the Testimonial to Mr. Garrison. I could not write, perhaps, without some allusion to it, & might seem to be asking Contributions from abroad, which we felt we had no right (in a sense) to do, however appropriate to do so, on general grounds. But we had decided to propose a National Testimonial, and that the co-operation of persons in other countries, if it came at all, should be absolutely unlimited. And so it has been.

There came first Mrs. E. P. Nichol's donation, so generous  
in itself, so honorable to Garrison as well as herself in  
manner of its offering. Next, & within the last month,  
to us, through the hands of James Russell Lowell, a list of  
35 names (24 in England, & 1 in Glasgow), with a contribution  
£ 157.5.0. Among these names were John Stuart Mill, John  
Bright, Thos. B. Potter, Wm. E. Forster, Charles Buxton, La  
Buxton (the widow of Thos. Fowell B., I suppose), the Cropper  
Liverpool, &c., the Grosfelds, T. C. Lyle, A. Wright, &c. At  
now I have the pleasure of adding your name to our  
and to feel that none worthier stands there, and none who  
will come more nearly to Garrison's heart. — Our progress  
with the Collection is not rapid. Something over \$20,000 has  
been contributed. We have been subjected to many interruptions  
and delays; — and I am conscious for myself, however  
interested in the movement, of a want of pushing faculty  
in the getting of money. We are persevering however, & feel  
confident of adding very considerably to the amount named, though  
I do not anticipate the getting of the entire sum at first named.  
Garrison is far from well. The injury to his right arm has  
been reached by any treatment, & even now occasions him frequent  
& severe pain. The crippled state of his limb — 3 years now a pain  
— adds greatly to his cares, anxieties, & personal labors. — It being  
right arm wh. was injured, he for many months could not use  
pen at all; & does so now only with difficulty. I am sending  
(by same mails, if the snow-blocked state of our Railroad's permits  
Newspaper mail to be sent — within a week, all travel has been  
interrupted, & communication again & again wholly cut off, by the  
heavy falls of snow, & regular movements of R. R. trains are scarcely  
yet restored.) I late nos. of "Independent", wherein you will see  
articles of W. L. G. on impeachment of the President. He early <sup>took</sup> his  
for this measure, & in these articles advocates it in a manner not  
easy to be understood. You ask my opinion. I think Mr. Johnson  
ought to be impeached for his action in the Louisiana matter, wh. arose  
in the New Orleans massacre of July 30<sup>th</sup> last. Very many other things  
has done equally <sup>or very</sup> bad, & still more, has neglected many things of absolute  
duty & necessity, enforcement of laws, protection of union citizens, wh. &c.  
But it will be hard to ~~prove~~ convict on negative grounds. In the  
case he positively put his hand to illegal and unconstitutional acts.

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setting aside the <sup>loyal, sub-jected</sup> government of a State - with which he had no right to interfere - removing the Governor, & putting a miserable creature of his own in his place. That is the special act & ground on which I think he should be impeached. His whole action, as President, has been ground of impeachment. And yet, so thoroughly despised is he, & to so great extent <sup>has lost his power,</sup> ~~become powerless~~ that I do not believe all the mischiefs, wh. Garrison & others anticipate, will ensue, if it be not done. Congress, or rather the House of Repr.<sup>s</sup>, seems to me to have taken a very wise step, in directing their Judiciary Committee to inquire ~~whether~~ there exist reasons & grounds for impeachment. The people demand that this duty shall be faithfully done, & will sustain the impeachment, if such grounds for it be shown.

My Cousin S. J. May is pretty well - approaching now his 70th birthday - i.e. in Sept. next. His only daughter ~~Edith~~ is now in Europe with her husband, & having left her children at home in his care, & an Aunt's, he has felt unusually confined at home, and we have not seen him <sup>here</sup> for nearly a year & a half. The absent ones will soon return, & then he will <sup>after</sup> (shortly) make ~~old~~ Massachusetts a visit. — There is a desperate effort making now, all over the land, to restore old sectarian lines, & division walls, to recover old priestly & sectarian power, & revive the old <sup>religious</sup> partisan feelings, - which the common duties, labor, & sympathies of the war had done much to efface & break down. It is, to me, a most sickening business, and gives me a feeling of positive loathing. The great instinct & interest of Religion - the most vital, intimate, delicate, and sensitive of all things, is used as a coarse tool & weapon of inflaming & alarming, & driving people & especially young people into Church-memberships, & "Submissions to the Lord", & the like, - which (as a sensible young man in our town, a teacher in the "Academy" here, said) is "demoralizing" to individual character, and to general society.

But my time is nearly gone, and I must say a word on business. You asked me <sup>whether</sup> you had before asked me to pay your subscription to the "Nation", & that of Mr. W. B. Jacob also. I had never had any such request, but I shall be happy to aid you about that, or any similar business, at any time. Just

Dec.  
before receiving yours of 22<sup>nd</sup>, I received a letter from  
Sam M. Powell, (now Ed. of the "Standard" as you doubtless know)  
- to whom I had written to inquire about the sale of certain  
copies of the "Life of Capt. John Brown" - saying he had "paid  
five dollars, for R. D. Webb, a few months ago, to the "Nation",  
a subscription for some Western friend" - of which, he added,  
he had rendered you as yet no account. When I got yours  
(wh. was Jan. 12.) - or shortly after, I wrote to the "Nation", to get  
the acct. of y<sup>r</sup> self & Mr. Jacob, and have rec<sup>d</sup>. from that office  
bills for next <sup>yearly</sup> payment in both cases. That for y<sup>r</sup> self runs from  
Feb. 13/67 to Feb. 13/68; that for Mr. Jacob, May 14/67. to May 14/68; -  
showing that you owe nothing on the paper at present, & will not until  
Feb. 13<sup>th</sup>, when payment, in advance, will be due, if you continue  
your subscription, \$5. per annum, or \$3. for six months. Mr. Jacob's <sup>paper</sup> is  
paid up to May 14<sup>th</sup>. Both the bills sent me are made out at  
\$6.50; - the \$1.50 additional must be on account of prepayments  
of foreign postage. That is only 2 cts. on each paper; and it seems  
to me that \$1. additional should suffice for that. I know of no  
other additional expense to which a foreign subscription subjects them.  
I suppose however you would wish me to pay A. M. Powell for  
what he had paid on y<sup>r</sup> acct.; and I wrote to him not to send  
the ~~acc~~ <sup>bill</sup> to you, but to me. He has not yet done so; and I have  
concluded to delay this letter to middle of next week, hoping to be  
able to say something more definite on the subject.

Early in December I had the great pleasure of listening  
to a lecture, in Boston, from Henry Vincent. It was upon  
this Country, & the mutual relations of Gr. Britain & the U. S.,  
and was full of thoughts, & happy ideas, & sensible suggestions,  
poured out in such an uninterrupted flow of language as I  
have seldom listened to. I saw one elderly Doctor of Divinity  
really crying - the tears rolling down - at the admirable  
descriptions wh. Mr. Vincent gave of the patience of the working  
people of England during the American War, & their wonderful  
determination not to give their countenance to the slaveholders  
of the South, no matter at what cost of hunger & suffering

to themselves; — & then, again, when he described the effect on whole communities in England, of the news of the Assassination of Mr. Lincoln. He showed himself quite a master of the keys which open the heart. His lectures must have a great effect in promoting a good understanding between the two countries, by showing how deep, & strong, & <sup>among the working & middle classes of England, in</sup> wide spread is the ~~real~~ friendship for this Country. After the lecture, Geo. Thompson introduced me to Mr. Vincent, and I had opp<sup>o</sup>. for a brief word. I couldn't detain him, even if I would, for he was evidently quite exhausted by his effort & wished to retire. I spoke of your wish that he would be the bearer to you of the volume of Charles Lamb's Miscellaneous writings, and he spoke most kindly of you, & said he would take it with pleasure, and I handed it to him on the spot. I trust you will, in due time, receive it.

His volume, with the payment to Powell (\$5.) for "Nation", will make a small acct. against you; but you need send me nothing, as I have \$13. now in my hands, for copies of John Brown's Life sold, & ought soon to have more. There are about 25 copies remaining in my hands, or with agents, yet to be accounted for. I continue to sell them at \$1. each, as you have never given me any other directions; but it is extremely low for them, as our currency is now. ~~There is~~ I have rarely an opp<sup>o</sup>. to sell one now, there being no longer an Anti-Slavery Office in Boston, & that in New York, <sup>being only</sup> a very contracted room, in the 4<sup>th</sup> story of a building in <sup>Nassau Street</sup> ~~the city~~, used almost wholly for the editing & mailing of the "Standard". I might place them in the hands of a bookseller, if you should prefer that course, & have a higher price put upon them — \$1.50 at least. Advertising them, & commissions for selling, would take a percentage off that, & a large one too on so few books. I only suggest this, for your consideration, & choice. I am entirely willing to continue the care of them, disposing of them as I have opportunity.

And now, in reading over my letter, I am strongly minded, & indeed at one moment resolved, to destroy the whole first sheet. Why, I asked, should I go over that whole ground, wh. R. D. W. knows all about as well as I, — not to say much better? Cui bono? at all events. — And with a life generous & considerate correspondent than you, I would do so

But as I am really short of time, I hardly feel up to re-  
writing, or substituting other matter. Let it go for just such a frag-  
ment as we might have together over old times, if we met; I do not  
think, please, that I had any other purpose than to try to make  
it clear & sure to your mind, that the only great difference in view  
opinion wh. had ever existed between us had never caused in  
the slightest abatement of good feeling & affectionate regard. I should  
indeed, worse ashamed of myself, than ever I was before, if such were  
the case. - So I let the whole stand, trusting to your sensible & fair  
construction of my meaning. — My uncle at Birmingham,  
whom I have spoken, wrote a great deal during the war in London &  
Birmingham papers, & in brief pamphlets, to <sup>oppose</sup> the pro-Southern efforts of  
in Parliament & Confederate agents, & their joint machinations agt. this country.  
He kept himself well informed as to the course of our Govt. & the movements  
of our armies, & never lost heart, or his confidence in the end. Mr. B.  
again & again acknowledged his indebtedness to Mr. Goddard. I have  
original letters to my uncle from John Bright, and the Am<sup>r</sup>. Mission  
Chap. Francis Adams, expressing much more than I have said, & in the most  
unqualified manner. He is thinking now of republishing his letters, or a  
selection from them, (wh. Mr. Bright warmly commends,) & will, I suppose, do  
to do so. He is in very limited circumstances, and at the close of the  
I had the pleasure of raising a purse of \$2000. for him (among his relations  
almost exclusively in this country.) Charles Sumner has admitted to me a  
high worth of Mr. Goddard's writings, & has endeavored to obtain for him  
appointment to a U. S. Consulate in England; but thus far in vain. His  
dearest daughter, Julia, is the author of some little books for young people, &  
writer for some magazines - you may have met with her names. - His  
daughter, an occasional correspondent of mine, is a very noble girl. She has  
spine affection, has been a great sufferer, & still is, has to lie down nearly  
whole times, - can only be carried or wheeled about in a sort of garden chair,  
but her spirit is so alive & given to doing & thinking of & for others,  
she is a lesson & admonition to <sup>all who are suffering</sup> others. She has had a class of pupils nearly  
through her illness, and I believe still has. He has several other children,  
grad. at Oxford with highest honors, & now is a clergyman in the Ch. of Eng.  
- We had a capital letter from my son Edward one day this week.  
began to feel quite anxious, as it was so long since we had heard. His letter  
began in the Straits of Magellan Nov. 25, & closed at Valparaiso Dec. 17. He  
very well, & had had some interesting experiences. He is probably now on the way  
to the Sandwich Islands, - his ship being attached to the North Pacific Squadron.  
family are in usual health - my wife better than during the autumn - & she and I  
devote their love to you. I am, truly & always, Yours, Saml. May Jr.

Boston, Jan. 29/67.

Dear friend Webb, - I delayed this to give you something more particular about the "Nation" subscription wh. A. M. Powell had paid, & to-day I have a letter from him. His recollection is at fault, & so his letter is not very satisfactory, but I will quote what he does say - "The Nation bill, for R. D. W., (on acc<sup>t</sup>. of someone whose name I cannot call to mind) came to me at a time when many things were pressing for attention, - together with a memorandum, wh. P. Pillsbury left, for back numbers of the Standard. I made a note of these, distinct from Standard business, & filed carefully away, - so carefully that I cannot find it now, as I look. I delayed writing till the Standard files could be searched. We find it impossible to supply the back numbers wanted." He then says he had been to "Nation" office, & examined their books, but could not identify the name of your friend for whom he had paid, & adds - "Please ask R. D. W. to re-state to you, or to me, for whom he requested P. P. to pay a subscription to the 'Nation'; his ~~own~~ answer will doubtless give name & address," &c. &c.

- I will pay this \$5. at once, & charge to you, as there can be no doubt of Powell's correctness as to the main fact, I feel very confident; I suppose you would have me do so. - Powell send me a duplicate receipt of yr. own subscription - for \$7.04, dated Apr. 12/66, & showing payment to Feb. 14. 1867. I don't suppose you wish this duplicate sent you; but if you do, please mention it. Also, - if you wish me to renew your subscription after mid. of February (at \$6.50) you will please so notify me, and I shall be pleased to attend to it for you. As I said, you are to send no money - at present, at least. - I shall not put up price of "John Brown life", unless you direct; but Powell agrees with me, that \$1.50 may very properly be asked for them. You asked me what I think of W. Phillips now - if I don't think he is right. I do not, in the points where I have thought him wrong - 1. In his treatment of Mr. Lincoln, & espousal of Gov. Fremont's claims (or cause) for the Presidency. 2. In continuing the Am<sup>n</sup> & Mass.

A. S. Societies. In regard to other matters, & especially <sup>as</sup> to  
all Antisl. principles, & as to the National duty to the free people,  
- their rights, social & civil, their education, full protection, &c. &c., there  
never was any difference among abolitionists. We were all deceived  
in Andrew Johnson, - Charles Sumner was deceived, & was the means  
of misleading others. When he came home from Washington, in summer  
of 1865, he told us explicitly that we might trust Andrew Johnson.  
Johnson lied to him, has lied to the whole Repub<sup>n</sup> party, & to the  
Nation. This is not vituperation - it is the naked fact; and a more  
terrible fact to us, in the circumstances, need not be looked for.  
One fact would be worse, viz. to have a majority of the people  
uphold him - to have Congress the mere register of his edicts.  
Neither of these facts exist - we trust in God, in truth, in the right,  
& in the intelligence of the people, that neither of them will exist.  
- And we throw ourselves in with all the loyal people, - not to  
censure, or carp, or coldly criticize, but, as a part of them, to  
watch & rebuke the public servants, animate them in every  
right measure, & stimulate their faith & courage for the yet  
imperfect work. I hold it puerile & cheap to continue  
the A. S. Societies. So far as they have now any effect, it is to  
throw suspicion on ~~the~~ all that has been gained, & checked for  
freedom, - to undervalue it, & disparage it. Consider, - the  
Mass. A. S. Socy. held its "Ann<sup>d</sup>. Meeting" here last week. It has only a  
name to live. It has not had one solitary meeting the whole year, to  
the best of my knowledge & belief - not one, nor sent out an agent  
nor a lecturer, has no office anywhere & no operations. Last  
summer it nominally called 2 open air meetings, 4th July, & 16 Aug.  
But these were not, in any sense, Society meetings, but local  
meetings, wh. might have been (& would have been doubtless,) called  
without intervention of any Society. Much the same is true of the  
Anti A. S. Socy. It has no office, save the small edit<sup>l</sup>. & mailing room  
of the "Standard", in 4th story of a building in the heart of the  
Commercial part of New York, where no stranger, customer, inquirer,  
ladies, or the general public, would ever go for A. S. publications, &c.  
- It may be its existence, as you said ~~was~~ in a previous letter, "can  
do no harm"; - tho' I think it may also be otherwise. - One harm,  
I think, attended the meeting in Boston last week. It brought

to its platform several weak, yet head-strong, individuals  
who thought it expedient & becoming to <sup>censure</sup> ~~reproach~~ Garrison for not  
being present at said meeting (after he had distinctly withdrawn,  
& none could have expected him!), & to revile him as having  
betrayed & deserted the cause of freedom & of the Negro! Of  
course, this doesn't harm Garrison, - the "ham". I speak of it in  
another direction, viz. that the good old Antislavery name  
& Cause ~~is~~ is brought into disrepute, so far as these men  
can do it; - & with those, who cannot or do not discriminate,  
it is brought into disrepute. And W. Phillips stands on his  
by, & hears this reviling thrown on Garrison, & listens to the most  
false and adulation of himself, without a word. - It doesn't  
seem to me good, or right, or scarcely decent. Wendell Phillips  
doesn't need these meetings for his own influence; - that is, probably,  
much compromised by them. He can have a much larger  
audience, at any time, when he wishes to publicly discuss any  
great topic. There is a bitter, a savage, & a most contemptible  
spite against Garrison, because he will be his own man, and  
will not bend to the purposes of others. That I know. Phillips,  
while sedulously careful himself what he says of Mr. Garrison, gives  
countenance & encouragement to perfectly atrocious & shameful  
things, cast about by men, who have no self-control, no coolness  
of judgment, & in many cases, no capacity of thinking sensibly.  
- Phillips saw through Andrew Johnson somewhat earlier than  
Garrison, - & not much earlier; but P. was a general censorer,  
& where all men, (& Congress especially) were condemned with most  
sweeping vehemence, (the "Swindling Congress", &c.), it would be strange  
if he did not sometimes (& often indeed) hit right. He has no eminence  
over Garrison, - but on the contrary, in my belief stands far  
beneath, in sound, clear moral insight, in reliable warning and  
doctrine, and in services of the utmost value to humanity in general,  
& our country in particular. But I desire none of these companions,  
& they are not of our seeking. The partisans of Mr. Phillips, it is,  
who are thrusting them before the public, whenever they can get a  
hearing. - I have written this sheet corrente calamo,  
& with the parting-hour just at hand; - cannot read it over,

& you will please forgive blunders. — I don't like  
to be asked about W.P., for I am conscious of feelings so  
very strong a disapprobation of much that he has done &  
encouraged, that I am very likely to be biased; but  
when I am, again & again, required of, I am quite ap-  
peared up to speak out.

My wife & daughter don't give up asking, if ye  
are not coming to this country. Couldn't you step over to  
the Spring, & pass a summer with us? You would see  
much that wd. interest you, & many who wd. delight to  
see you.

I can no more. Farewell.

Affectionately Yrs. S. May Jr.

Do you still keep up Turkish baths?